

Defeat Congress at the Polls in U P and Orissa

Only twenty years after independence i.e. in the year 1937, people of India witnessed the ushering in of non-Congress Governments in eight States of India including Orissa and UP—both of which are going to the polls this month. The defeat of the Congress and the emergence of non-Congress Governments in so many states clearly revealed a growing anti-Congress tendency among the people who were very much keen on finding out a suitable alternative capable of anyhow ensuring the defeat of the Congress as they lost all faith in the ruling party being hard-pressed under grinding poverty and fed up with all sorts of false promises. It would have been absolutely wrong to conclude that the people of India became politically conscious about the root cause of their miseries and hence rejected Congress at the polls as the best defender of capitalism in India.

Our party correctly analysed at that time that it was not so much due to the political consciousness of the people as due to the deep-rooted and widespread discontent among them born out of the stark realities of life since independence as the inevitable outcome of the exploitative capitalist system in our country.

But this anti-Congress sentiment of the toiling masses, more so the sweeping tide of the then anti-Congressism, received a great jolt and practically took an opposite turn particularly in the mid-term polls of 1971 when Sm. Indira Gandhi was able to come out with an unprecedented majority in the Lok Sabha. This diametrically opposite turn in the political picture of India could take place mainly because of the fact that Sm. Indira Gandhi was able to befool the people by her so-called radical slogans and acts like abolition of privy purses, nationalisation of fourteen Indian banks etc, create illusion of progressiveness about her Congress and her Govt. in mass mind and thus rejuvenate the dying Congress taking advantage of the opportunistic policies of CPI and CPI(M) who then eulogised Indira Congress as progressive against the Syndicate Congress on the

one hand and due to the failure of most of the non-Congress Governments to inspire people with a clear-cut alternative ideology coupled with the dubious methods practised by these Governments on the other. Thus the failure of the big Left parties like CPI and CPI(M) masquerading as Communists and revolutionaries to analyse correctly the policies of Sm. Gandhi whose primary aim was to consolidate and strengthen capitalism with the help of some so called radical and social-democratic measures contributed, however indirectly, to the revitalisation of the Congress.

We had no shade of doubt that Indira Gandhi's Congress, like the Syndicate Congress, was the party of the Indian bourgeoisie wedded to the task of safeguarding monopoly interests. It was following the same ideology, principle, policy and programme as the United Congress under the leadership of Pandit Nehru. We, therefore, characterised that the Congress(R) was the same old wine of the United Congress in a new bottle with a more attractive but more deceptive label. The only difference was that while the Congress(O) represented

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MAKE SUCI CANDIDATES VICTORIOUS

Central Committee's Appeal

The Central Committee of the SUCI in course of a statement to the Press issued on February 4, 1974, has said :

"Our attempt to build up a United Front or unity of left forces on the basis of an agreed common programme to provide an instrument of struggle to the toiling masses in the ensuing elections in UP and Orissa failed due to lukewarm attitude of the CPI(M) and the SP on such a vital question as the United Front of left forces and as they became busy to come to a clandestine understanding with the right reactionary parties in UP and the most reactionary Pragati Party in Orissa with the sole aim of grabbing a few seats, which is now no more a clandestine move but an open fact. By giving only lip services to revolution and united mass struggles, the CPI(M) and the SP actually frustrated the SUCI's

move to forge a united front to help and guide the masses in the ensuing election battle on a clear-cut revolutionary base political mass line and a programme of united mass struggle.

Under the circumstances, the SUCI is left with no other alternative than to fight the election singly on the basis of clear-cut revolutionary line of the masses and a programme of mass struggle. We urge upon the people to mobilise themselves solidly, stand by the SUCI and make the SUCI candidates victorious; where there is no SUCI candidate, to vote for the candidates of other anti Congress left parties. The SUCI further urges upon the people to ensure that the Congress, the main enemy of the people, is defeated at the polls.

The Central Committee has approved the following candidates :—

Orissa :—

District	Constituency	Candidate
1, Cuttack	Korai	Com. Balaram Sahoo
2. "	Sukinda	„ Mayadhar Nayak
3. "	Barchana	Narendra Senapati
(supported)		
4. Balasore	Bhandaripokhari	Com. Dhaneswar Jena
5. Mayurbhanj	Jashipur	„ Sambhunath Naik
6. Sundargarh	Rourkela	„ Banabehari Jena

U. P.

1. Gorakhpur	Dhuriapar	Com. Chandrabhan Mishra
2. Jaunpur	Khutahan	„ Dinesh Kant Dubey
3. "	Gahrwara	„ Ram Kunwar Singh

AGAINST CONGRESS, RIGHT REACTION AND PSEUDO-LEFTS, Make SUCI Candidates Victorious

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the individual interest of the Indian monopolists, the Congress(R) represented the aggregate interests of Indian monopoly capitalism. This scientific analysis of our beloved leader and teacher Com. Shibdas Ghosh is very well worth recalling while facing the ensuing elections in Orissa and UP.

It is to be noted that both of these two States, i.e. Orissa and UP, witnessed Governments one after another. While in Orissa there had been Governments led by the Congress, Ganatantra (now turned Swatantra), Gana Congress-Swatantra, Utkal Congress-Swatantra, Jharkhand etc., in UP there had been Governments similarly led by Congress, SVD and a coalition of SVD and Congress etc. There is no denying the fact that these changes in the Governments could not only not ameliorate the basic problems of the people but also went on adding to their suffocating sufferings without any sign of relief. The people of Orissa and UP, along with the people of India, have been passing through a most precarious condition for a long time. Soaring prices of essential commodities, extortionate taxation, acute unemployment, grinding poverty, ravages of periodical flood and drought, chronic food crisis, *en-masse* eviction of peasants from land, unprecedented chaos in the educational field, steady decline in the ethical and moral standard—all these have become the order of the day pushing the lives of the people to ruination. Of the two States, the problem is still more acute in Orissa than in UP as industrial development in this State has been practically nil in spite of its vast mineral resources and forest wealth. Agriculture has made no headway

although rivers and rivulets abound in Orissa. In short, this State has been neglected all through for so many reasons. Although the picture in U.P. is not cent percent identical—still it must be admitted that the people of that State also are constantly feeling the pinch of and practically groaning under capitalist exploitation along with the people of whole of India.

In the background of such a critical situation, the people of Orissa and U.P. are going to take part in the elections. Over and above these basic problems, we find that certain other problems are coming out of the anti-people policies of the ruling party and its fascistic attitude to the democratic movements. We all know that in bourgeois parliamentary democracy, Opposition is supposed to be given a due weight and prestige even by the ruling party. But in India, where there are plentiful slogans of socialism in the mouth of the ruling party, this minimum norm of parliamentary democracy has been completely trampled down. The path shown by Pandit Nehru by the Central intervention of the first Leftist Government in Kerala has been successfully followed by his daughter on a number of occasions. Her sole object has become to crush opposition by any amount of foul measures possible. Illegal overthrowing of the first U.F. Govt. in West Bengal, instigating defection in Orissa for the installation of the Satpathy Government while preventing the Opposition from forming any government—when Mrs Satpathy later become minority—by nakedly using the power of the Governor, and, last but not least, the formation of a care-taker Government in U.P. just before this election under Babuguna's leadership

practically raping the Constitution—are only a few to mention in this connection. Indiscriminate use of D. I. R, MISA etc., to throttle the voice of the legitimate democratic movements of the people have become the regular feature with the ruling party. The arrest of Com. B. Jena—SUCI candidate from Rourkela constituency and a prominent mass leader of Orissa, member of Orissa State Committee, SUCI, is one such example. The fascistic attack of the ruling party to suppress the P.A.C. revolt in U.P. still hangs in our memory. Unscrupulous use of the administrative machinery, unthinkable patronage by the business magnates, particularly sugar magnates in U.P. of the ruling party, unrestricted flow of black money, bribery and threatening of the electorate to any how get into the Governmental power have become the common features in both the States. And the abject cult of casteism and religious revivalism etc., have also found their way in the election campaign of the Congress. This is the kind of socialism that the ruling party is practising. It is this Indira brand of socialism that the Congress President, Mr S. D. Sharma, promised in the election manifesto in his vain attempt to woo the electorate.

Those democratic minded people, who still cherish the idea of preserving democratic rights within the framework of the existing parliamentary democratic structure, must therefore realise that parliamentary democracy has lost its old fervour and has become a tool in the hands of the monopolists to crush not only the opposition but also the democracy itself. Anybody intending to maintain the democratic norms to-

day shall have to depend on Left and democratic mass struggles making it completely free from the kind of narrow sectarian and big brotherly attitude which plagued the politics of West Bengal in 1969 in the hands of CPI(M). Our party has been fighting against these sorts of evil forces from its very inception.

Be that as it may, it is incumbent upon the genuine revolutionary working class party to determine its own line of action.

We all know that in a class-divided society like ours, there can be only two political class outlooks and approaches in regard to election. One has to approach the election on the basis of bourgeois class outlook and base political line of the bourgeoisie to any how grab as many seats as possible and aiming at strengthening and consolidating the existing capitalist system, while the other is the approach of the revolutionaries, of the toiling millions, that is, to approach election on the basis of revolutionary politics and on the base political line of the proletariat and the toiling masses to strengthen mass struggle and to build up revolutionary mass organisation at all levels on the basis of a clear-cut revolutionary mass political line and a programme of mass struggle with the ultimate aim of bringing about a fundamental change in the politico-economic and social structure of the society.

With this aim in view we approached the CPI(M) and the other anti-Congress Left parties to come forward and form a united front of the Left and democratic forces on the basis of an agreed common programme to provide an instrument of struggle to the toiling millions against the Congress-CPI combine in

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Congress-Jotedar Attack on SUC & KKMf Workers in Bihar and W. Bengal

When the agricultural labourers, landless peasants, poor Peasants and the middle peasants are being more and more organised under the banner of SUC and Kisan-O-Khet Mazur Federation (K K M F), when they are responding in thousands to the KKMf's clarion call for membership enrolment and particularly when they are organising heroic battles against illegal eviction of share-croppers from land—the jotedar-Congress-police combine is mounting their fierce attacks on a more intensive scale upon SUC workers and supporters in different parts of the country. The recent incidents of Muzaffarpur in Bihar and Cooch Behar in West Bengal bear glaring testimony to it.

On the 20th January last, a brutal attack was let loose on SUC supporters in Panapur under Kanti P.S. area of Muzaffarpur District, Bihar, by an armed gang of more than 150 men being led by the notorious jotedar, Harihar Shau. Houses of some SUC supporters were set on fire by these gangsters. As a result of all these attacks, at least twenty-five SUC supporters received grievous injuries of which the condition of four is still very critical.

It is surprising to note that though the local police authorities have been informed immediately about the incident, no action has yet been taken against the culprits; on the contrary, warrants of arrest have been issued against some organisers of the SUC and the KKMf. The police authorities went so far that they even issued warrants against Com. Sibsanker Singh, Secretary, Muzaffarpur District SUC, and Prof. N. R. Singh, an eminent SUC leader of Bihar.

This inaction on the part of the police indirectly encouraged the miscreants, who, thus encouraged, proceeded to mount another attack on the villagers which this time was bravely resisted by the villagers under the leadership of SUC. Being faced with the resistance struggle of the local people the attackers then fled away.

It may be recalled in

this connection that the agricultural labourers landless peasants, poor peasants, and common people of this area were successfully conducting heroic battles under the leadership of SUC and K K M F against illegal eviction from land and for legitimate share of crops for the share-croppers. This attack has come in the wake of the heroic struggles of the toiling masses who, organised now under the leadership of SUC and KKMf, are facing these attacks today far more heroically with firmer determination.

In the morning of 23rd January last, Com. Dipak Chowdhury and Com. Jalil Pramanik, President and Secretary of Haldibari Thana K K M F respectively and Subal Dey, another organiser, were attacked by some notorious jotedars and their hired goondas at Anguldekha village under Haldibari P.S. area in Cooch Behar District, West Bengal. When these comrades were proceeding towards Anguldekha village in connection with the membership campaign of KKMf they were suddenly attacked by nearly a hundred-strong gang of notorious jotedars and hired goondas armed to the teeth with all sorts of lethal weapons. These Congressite hoodlums, under the leadership of Basanta Sarker, a notorious local jotedar, attacked Com. Chowdhury and hit

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MAMMOTH Rourkela Convention Demands Release of Com. B. Jena & Others

Rourkela (Orissa), January 30: A mammoth and historic convention for the preservation of democratic rights and protection of civil liberty was held on 27th January '74 at Ambagan of Rourkela under the auspices of UCI. Sri Nabakrushna Chowdhury, Ex-Chief Minister of Orissa was the main speaker and Prof. Swadhin Pattanaik of Sambalpur University was the guest-in-chief. Srimati Malati Chowdhury, Com. Sk Qasim and Com. Abhiram Routray also addressed the convention. Earlier a thousand-strong procession started from SUCI office, Rourkela, and reached the convention place parading the main streets. More than four thousand people attended the convention which was presided over by Com. Tapas Dutta.

A number of resolutions were passed demanding amelioration of the vital problems of people's life, particularly of the toiling masses. The main resolution demanded immediate withdrawal of DIR, MISA and other black Acts aimed at throttling the voice of legitimate democratic movements of the people. The resolution also demanded immediate release of Com. B. Jena, Secretary, SUCI, Sundargarh District, member Orissa State Committee of SUCI and Secretary Orissa State Committee, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) who is now in detention under MISA for a long time. Com. B. Jena is the SUCI candidate for Rourkela seat in the ensuing mid-term election. The resolution also voiced a strong demand for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners, including all those Adivasi workers and peasants in Chitra Kunda who have been falsely branded as Naxalites and held under MISA.

The main speaker, Sri Nabakrushna Chowdhury, severely criticised the brutally undemocratic action of the Government in detaining without trial the trade union and political workers. He said that though 26 years have passed since independence, more than 75% of the people are still languishing below the poverty line and there is no food, clothing,

education or any work for them. To organise any mass struggle to get out of this impasse is considered a crime by the ruling party. And to destroy these democratic mass struggles all the black Acts like MISA, DIR have been promulgated. The slogan of "Garibi Hatao" is the "grandest hoax" of the Indira Govt. and the so-called radical programmes of nationalisation of banks etc., are aimed at confusing the masses of the people and strengthening the basic interest of the capitalism in India, he said. Referring to Com. Shibdas Ghosh's views on this question he declared that it was only Com. Shibdas Ghosh who correctly analysed the class motive behind all such "radical" slogans which helped the monopolists in reaping maximum benefit. Sri Chowdhury further opined that so long the "Arms Act" is there, it is futile to speak of democracy. He demanded repeal of the Arms Act.

Sm. Malati Chowdhury told that the reign of terror let loose by the Congress Government on the innocent Adivasi youths has surpassed the fascistic records of Hitler. She strongly criticised the Govt. policy and demanded the release of Com. B. Jena and all other political prisoners.

The convention created great enthusiasm among the local people.

MAKE SUC CANDIDATES VICTORIOUS IN UP, ORISSA

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both the States and also against the Pragati Party (a combination of Utkal Congress, Swantra Party, the former Rajas and some discredited leaders under the combined leadership of Bijumahata and R. N. Singh Deo) in Orissa and the triple alliance of BKD, SSP and Muslim Majlis in UP. But we are constrained to note that both the CPI(M) and the SP showed a lukewarm attitude towards such a front and became busy in hobnobbing and making clandestine arrangements of seats with this or that party with the sole object of anyhow grabbing a few seats. It is interesting to note that in Orissa although the CPI(M) denied having come to any arrangement of seats with the Pragati Party at the initial stage, the Secretary of the Orissa State Committee, CPI(M), later openly declared it as the policy of the party to make adjustments with the Pragati Party. To befool the rank and file the CPI(M) leaders also made fantastic statements of the kind that they have come to the arrangement of seats with the Pragati Party minus that section represented by the Swatantra! This is really curious. Does it not sound identical with CPI's claim of having alliance with Congress minus its reactionary elements? The CPI(M)'s lip-service to the question of Left unity and revolution became all the more evident from its decision to support not the SUC candidate Com. B. Jana (who is still in detention under MISA) at Rourkela but to support Sri Manmohan Misra, an independent candidate who is reported to have a dubious past.

Shri Mishra has several times in his life managed to change his political colour. Once he was in the undivided CPI. Then he left the CPI

and joined Congress. He came out in open support of Biju Patnaik when he was the editor of Kalinga.

This time Sri Misra first sought Pragati Party's support as was reported in the Press. It was also reported in the Hindustan Standard that a 'strong group' of the Pragati Party in Bhubaneswar are giving full support to Shri Mishra as their candidate in Rourkela and knowledgeable circles believe that Shri Manmohan Mishra is the actual Pragati Party candidate camouflaged as independent supported by the CPI(M).

From the latest reports that we have gathered it seems that Sri Misra is in reality a Pragati sponsored candidate to whom it has lent its official support under the label of "independent" candidate. Is not this approach very much consistent with bourgeois parliamentary reformism and alien to the revolutionary base political line of the proletariat?

One should also note that the recent P.B. statement of the CPI(M) on U.P. election, published in People's Democracy on 27th January '74, has called upon the people to fight against the ruling party, i.e., the Congress, and the right reaction, meaning the Jana Sangh no doubt, but has not uttered a single word against the combination of BKD, SSP and Muslim Majlis under the leadership of the BKD leader Charan Singh—the erstwhile Chief Minister of the State. That this combination also is designed to serve the class interest of the bourgeoisie is perhaps clear to all. The P.B. of CPI(M) also "expects other left and democratic parties, organisations and individuals to remove all obstacles that stand in the way of forging the unity of the left and democratic forces against the regime." May we ask what is the real

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him on his head with spears when he fell down in a pool of blood. These goondas went on beating Com. Chaudhury with lathis till they took him to be dead and then left the place. In the mean time, Com. Jalil

obstacle here? Is it not the very attitude of the CPI(M) towards the question of Left unity that has created the main hurdle? Why did our appeal to form a Left unity on the basis of an agreed common programme fall into deaf ears! Then, how is it that the P.B. is expecting others to remove obstacles that stand in the way of unity? Is it not an attempt to hoodwink the rank and file and exploit the sentiment of unity in its own favour?

Under the circumstances, the toiling masses, through out the whole of India must come forward—whether in election or outside election—to perform the twin tasks of building up a united front of all Left and democratic parties on the basis of a common minimum programme against the main enemy, the Congress—the best defender of capitalist interest in India—and establishing in this united front the leadership of a genuine working class party by exposing the pseudo-revolutionary character of CPI and CPI(M).

We appeal to the voters of Orissa and U.P. to make victorious the SUC candidates from where they are contesting in order to hold high the banner of the base political line of the proletariat and to vote in other constituencies for the candidates of the Left and democratic parties, in order to weaken the strength of the ruling Congress—the main enemy of our people—as much as possible, while harbouring no illusion about the real character of these parties.

Pramanik and Com. Subal Dey took shelter in a nearby shop practically encircled by the gangsters; but as the local people started gathering the miscreants fled away. Com. Chaudhury's condition became very precarious and he was then and there removed and admitted to Jalpaiguri hospital.

It should be mentioned in this connection that the poor peasants of this locality won victories in their struggle to resist the jotedars' illegal eviction of sharecroppers from land who could thus establish their rightful claim on land. This made the jotedars highly infuriated against SUC as the entire struggle of the poor people was organised and led by it.

Protesting against this brutal and armed attack on organisers of SUC and KKMf a mass deputation was led to the Haldibari police station demanding immediate arrest and exemplary punishment of the culprits. A memorandum was submitted to the O.C. to this effect.

It is heartening to note that this unprecedented attack could not only not dampen the spirit of the poor peasants but also emboldened them to fight with firmer determination and high spirit. This was evident from the massive protest meeting which was held on 25th Jan. at the same spot where the incident took place. This is considered as the largest meeting ever held in this locality which was presided over by Com. Sankar Ganguly. Coms. Subrata Chowdhury, Jalil Pramanik and Ruhul Amin among others spoke in the meeting.

Com. Nihar Mukherjee, Secretary, W.B. State Committee, has in a statement strongly condemned this incident and demanded immediate arrest and exemplary punishment of all culprits.